

March 2017

# Alice Paul Awards for Women Who Have Worked to Confront Men's Violence Against Women

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## Recommended Citation

Brannon, Robert (2017) "Alice Paul Awards for Women Who Have Worked to Confront Men's Violence Against Women," *Dignity: A Journal on Sexual Exploitation and Violence*: Vol. 2: Iss. 1, Article 9.

DOI: 10.23860/dignity.2017.02.01.09

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## **Keywords**

Alice Paul Awards, National Organization for Men Against Sexism, NOMAS, women, violence against women, men, women's movement, feminist history

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## **Acknowledgements**

NOMAS is appreciative of the input from the following people in compiling our full list honorees: Jennifer Robinson, John Stoltenberg, Catharine MacKinnon, Wendy Stock, Diana Russell, Taina Bien-Aime, Phyllis Chesler, Jane Manning, Melissa Farley, Dorchen Leidholdt, Shirley Ranz, and Gloria Steinem.

## ALICE PAUL AWARDS FOR WOMEN WHO HAVE WORKED TO CONFRONT MEN'S VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

Committee on Feminist Movement History

*National Organization for Men Against Sexism (NOMAS)*

### KEYWORDS

Alice Paul Awards, National Organization for Men Against Sexism, NOMAS, women, violence against women, men, women's movement, feminist history

**T**HE NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR MEN AGAINST SEXISM (NOMAS) is a 36-year old national feminist men's network that engages in a wide range of activities on a broad range of issues ([www.Nomas.org](http://www.Nomas.org)). Its collective national leadership includes feminist men and women who are grassroots activists, therapists, teachers, researchers, writers, academics, and community organizers. Some recent projects include: support for custodial mothers, programs for men who abuse their partners, services for battered women, projects confronting women's and girls' use in sex trafficking and prostitution, organizing for racial justice, documenting feminist movement history, and examining men's and women's power-and-gender-role dynamics.

### Selection Process

The Committee on Feminist Movement History which made the selections included seven individuals. Each of these members made nominations of women to be honored, wrote evaluations of the proposed nominees and the award announcement. The process was conducted by email and by phone calls over a month-long period in 2016. Committee members include:

- Robert Brannon, Ph.D., Chairperson. Teacher of college women's studies courses since 1971, feminist activist since late 1960's. Areas of specialization include: pornography's effects on viewers, prostitution, sex-trafficking, statistics on rape, sexting, and attitude measurement.
- Rose Garrity. Chair of Board, National Coalition Against Domestic Violence and Director of a women's shelter for abused women for 40 years in Binghamton, New York.
- Chris O'Sullivan Ph.D. Researcher, writer, and editor on domestic violence and other issues of violence against women.
- Jack Straton Ph.D. Co-Chair of NOMAS Task Group on child custody and founder of Men Against Rape groups on three campuses.
- Don Bell, Founding member of NOMAS in 1981; trainer and leader on issues of multiculturalism, racism, sexism, homophobia, and HIV/AIDS.

- Barry Goldstein. Co-Chair of NOMAS Task Group on child custody and author of books on child custody and the courts. He has defended custodial mothers and their children in court.
- David Greene Ph.D. University teacher of gender studies courses for over 30 years.
- Phyllis B. Frank. Founder and expert on groups for men who have abused their partners and co-chair of state and national National Organization for Women (NOW) committees on pornography

The short list of ten women of Lifetime Dedication, and Outstanding Achievement is only one committee's choice. A first draft of names was prepared by Dr. Brannon, Chair of the Committee on Feminist Movement History, and then significantly modified and refined by other NOMAS committee members and outside consultants. None of these individuals had proposed themselves. The texts of the biographical descriptions were shown to the individuals named, insofar as possible (three are now deceased), and many factual corrections made at their request.

### Who is Alice Paul?

Naming these awards for Alice Paul (1885-1977) seems most appropriate, as Alice Paul achieved the single greatest advance for women in all of human history—and dealt a decisive defeat to male supremacy. In 1919 at the age of 34, Paul had out-witted and out-maneuvered President Woodrow Wilson, after years of his resistance, into agreeing that American women should be entitled to vote. Today, voting is assumed as women's right, but Alice Paul and her sisters faced men's mob-violence many times, their banners destroyed, their parades disrupted. Paul herself was imprisoned and brutally force-fed. Gaining the vote was the first such victory for women, anywhere in the Western world, the great prize that had eluded Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth C. Stanton, Lucy Stone, Matilda J. Gage, and all of the great First Wave feminists. This battle-by-battle story is best told in *Alice Paul and the American Suffrage Campaign* (Adams & Keene, 2008).

### The Focus of the Alice Paul Awards

While the full range of feminist issues are of great interest to NOMAS, we have a special concern with *men's violence against women*. Our intention is to especially recognize the feminist women who have been so inspiring in guiding us in this particular dimension of the feminist struggle.

*All* feminists, almost by definition, are opposed to men's violence. But not all have been directly involved in actively working against it in some meaningful way. In deciding whom we wish to honor, we have looked most specifically at those women who have who have contributed in the areas of *sexual assault, rape, domestic abuse, sexual harassment, pederasty, abusively-seeking child-custody, polygamy, bullying*, and lesser forms of men's violence, such as *street harassment and obscene phone calls*. We include those aspects of the "sex industry" clearly linked to violence against women, including *sex-trafficking, use in prostitution, and revenge-porn, etc.*

Those areas are the intended focus of this award. Women whose primary contributions are in other dimensions of feminism are included when we also see clear evidence of work that directly addresses men's violence against women.

We include writing as an important form of work, as well as more direct activities. We have included poets and playwrights where appropriate, as well as social

scientists, service providers, lawyers, judges, writers, journalists, survivors, clergy, activists, and other professional categories.

While these issues and struggles are world-wide, our Alice Paul Award is limited to the Second Wave and thereafter (late 1960's - today), alive or deceased, living or working in the United States.

There are important issues in feminism, including political equality, economic equality, women's culture, women's history, women's literature, sexuality, health, etc. that have relevance, but are not specifically directed at men's violence against women. We have also not included here women whose work has almost exclusively addressed racism, homophobia, war, immigration, and other related areas of activism, although a case can be made for the great relevance of each of these.

## HONOREES

Honoring any one woman is somewhat inconsistent with the great collective struggle for equality that we have seen since the late 1960's. There are, in truth, thousands of women who deserve such appreciation. The world tends to honor those who gain national recognition and publicity, while many others do outstanding things in their local area, and are not widely recognized.

It would be impossible to list all of the thousands of individual women, at all levels in the U.S. alone, who have worked on these issues. We have attempted to be somewhat comprehensive, at the national level. At the state and local levels, we have inevitably missed and omitted many very deserving women. We regret that for technical reasons, we were not able to include middle initials or names, except when necessary for correct identification.

Worthy additions, with a brief explanation, may be sent to [leoleobren@gmail.com](mailto:leoleobren@gmail.com). Although we have no current plan to publish future editions of this Award, if the number of names becomes significant, we will release them at a later date.

There are obviously no "correct" or perfect choices. These our Committee's selections; others may have validly made different choices. Among the many such inspirational women in the U.S., we salute:

<i>Trudee Able-Peterson</i>	<i>Ellen Bass</i>	<i>Susan Brownmiller</i>	<i>Kathleen Carlin</i>
<i>Christine Adler</i>	<i>Beverly La Belle</i>	<i>Tammy Bruce</i>	<i>Vednita Carter</i>
<i>Dolores Alexander</i>	<i>Samantha Berg</i>	<i>Emile Buchwald</i>	<i>Phyllis Chesler</i>
<i>Jewel Allison</i>	<i>Taina Bien-Aime</i>	<i>Lily Burana</i>	<i>D. A. Clark</i>
<i>Judith Armatta</i>	<i>Nicole Bingham</i>	<i>Martha Burt</i>	<i>Elissa Clark</i>
<i>Louise Armstrong</i>	<i>Constance Backhouse</i>	<i>Sandra Butler</i>	<i>Jody Clay-Warner</i>
<i>Margaret Baldwin</i>	<i>Angela Bonavoglia</i>	<i>Twiss Butler</i>	<i>Leah Cohen</i>
<i>Patricia Barrera</i>	<i>Linda Boreman</i>	<i>Deborah Cameron</i>	<i>Patricia H. Collins</i>
<i>Kathleen Barry</i>	<i>Ann Bridges</i>	<i>Lynn Campbell</i>	<i>Noreen Connell</i>
<i>Pauline Bart</i>	<i>Angela Browne</i>	<i>Jane Caputi</i>	<i>Gloria Cowan</i>

<i>Nikki Craft</i>	<i>Jill Goodman</i>	<i>Demie Kurz</i>	<i>Frances Patai</i>
<i>Kimberle Crenshaw</i>	<i>Lisa Goodman</i>	<i>Martha Langelan</i>	<i>Pamela Paul</i>
<i>June Csvida</i>	<i>Tipper Gore</i>	<i>Mary Anne Layden</i>	<i>Ellen Pence</i>
<i>Mary Daly</i>	<i>Margaret Gordon</i>	<i>Laura Lederer</i>	<i>Marge Piercy</i>
<i>Michelle Dauber</i>	<i>Lois Gould</i>	<i>Taylor Lee</i>	<i>Ayala Pines</i>
<i>Sarah Deer</i>	<i>Kathleen Grady</i>	<i>Dorchen Leidholdt</i>	<i>Jody Pinto</i>
<i>Michelle Dempsey</i>	<i>Susan Griffin</i>	<i>Dianne Levitt</i>	<i>Maime Pinzer</i>
<i>Gail Dines</i>	<i>Marg Hall</i>	<i>Barrie Levy</i>	<i>Elizabeth Pleck</i>
<i>Julie Domonkos</i>	<i>Mo Hannah</i>	<i>Catherine Lhamon</i>	<i>Clarice Pollock</i>
<i>Cathy Douglass</i>	<i>Barbara Hart</i>	<i>Rachel Lloyd</i>	<i>Sally R. Wagner</i>
<i>Rachel Durchslag</i>	<i>Margery Heim</i>	<i>Shelley Lubben</i>	<i>Norma Ramos</i>
<i>Mallika Dutt</i>	<i>Valerie Heller</i>	<i>Catharine MacKinnon</i>	<i>Michele Paludi</i>
<i>Andrea Dworkin</i>	<i>Nancy Henley</i>	<i>Carolyn Maloney</i>	<i>Frances Patai</i>
<i>Billie Dzieh</i>	<i>Helen Herman</i>	<i>Jill Manning</i>	<i>Pamela Paul</i>
<i>Ronnie Eldridge</i>	<i>Anita Hill</i>	<i>Jane Manning</i>	<i>Ellen Pence</i>
<i>Betty Ellerin</i>	<i>Shere Hite</i>	<i>Dell Martin</i>	<i>Marge Piercy</i>
<i>Eve Ensler</i>	<i>Merle Hoffman</i>	<i>Alexandra Matusinka</i>	<i>Ayala Pines</i>
<i>Edna Einseidel</i>	<i>bell hooks</i>	<i>Toni McNaron</i>	<i>Jody Pinto</i>
<i>Riane Eisler</i>	<i>Laurel Holliday</i>	<i>Andra Medea</i>	<i>Maime Pinzer</i>
<i>Susan Estrich</i>	<i>Norma Hotaling</i>	<i>Barbara Mehrhof</i>	<i>Elizabeth Pleck</i>
<i>Michelle Etlin</i>	<i>Carol Horos</i>	<i>Joan Meier</i>	<i>Clarice Pollock</i>
<i>Lin Farley</i>	<i>Florence Howe</i>	<i>Susan Meyer</i>	<i>Sally R. Wagner</i>
<i>Melissa Farley</i>	<i>Donna M. Hughes</i>	<i>Miriam Miedzian</i>	<i>Norma Ramos</i>
<i>Kathryn Farr</i>	<i>Sandra Hunnicutt</i>	<i>Lilane Miller</i>	<i>Shirley Ranz</i>
<i>Geraldine Ferraro</i>	<i>Swanee Hunt</i>	<i>Kate Millett</i>	<i>Janice Raymond</i>
<i>Louise Fitzgerald</i>	<i>Susan Hunter</i>	<i>Eileen Moran</i>	<i>Lois Reckitt</i>
<i>Pamela Fletcher</i>	<i>Ann Jones</i>	<i>Robin Morgan</i>	<i>Judith Reisman</i>
<i>Phyllis Frank</i>	<i>Jeanie Kasindorf</i>	<i>Yarrow Morgan</i>	<i>Adrienne Rich</i>
<i>Mary A. Franks</i>	<i>Marilyn Kaskel</i>	<i>Jessica Neuwirth</i>	<i>Stephanie Riger</i>
<i>Elizabeth Frazer</i>	<i>Lierre Keith</i>	<i>Lauren Nile</i>	<i>Beth Ritchie</i>
<i>Jo Freeman</i>	<i>Jean Kilbourne</i>	<i>Eleanor H. Norton</i>	<i>Cathy Roberts</i>
<i>Lisa Friel</i>	<i>Liz Kelly</i>	<i>Patricia O'Brien</i>	<i>Jennifer Robinson</i>
<i>Sherry Frohman</i>	<i>Suzanne Koepplinger</i>	<i>Mary Odem</i>	<i>Chiquita Rollins</i>
<i>Betty Friedan</i>	<i>Karen Kollias</i>	<i>Chris O'Sullivan</i>	<i>Leora Rosen</i>
<i>Rose Garrity</i>	<i>Lucy Komisar</i>	<i>Elizabeth O'Sullivan</i>	<i>Jean Rosenberg</i>
<i>Evelina Giobbe</i>	<i>Mary Koss</i>	<i>Michele Paludi</i>	<i>Diane Rosenfeld</i>

<i>Lynn Rosenthal</i>	<i>Sherry Short</i>	<i>Myra Terry</i>	<i>Linda Weiner</i>
<i>Loretta Ross</i>	<i>Joy Silberg</i>	<i>Kathleen Thompson</i>	<i>Rebecca Whisnant</i>
<i>Martha Roth</i>	<i>Mimi Silbert</i>	<i>Lisa Thompson</i>	<i>Frances Whyatt</i>
<i>Florence Rush</i>	<i>Ann Simonton</i>	<i>Salamishah Tillet</i>	<i>Cassandra Wilson</i>
<i>Ann Russo</i>	<i>Ellie Smeal</i>	<i>Nkenge Toure</i>	<i>Sue Wise</i>
<i>Diana Russell</i>	<i>Linnea Smith</i>	<i>Alice Walker</i>	<i>Tess Wiseheart</i>
<i>Nancy Russo</i>	<i>Esta Soler</i>	<i>Lenore Walker</i>	<i>Leslie Wolfe</i>
<i>Peggy Sanday</i>	<i>Elizabeth Stanco</i>	<i>Marcia Walker</i>	<i>Gwen Wright</i>
<i>Karen Sauvigne</i>	<i>Liz Stanley</i>	<i>Michelle Wallace</i>	<i>Laura X</i>
<i>Lynn Schafran</i>	<i>Jane Stapleton</i>	<i>Barbara Wallston</i>	<i>Carrie Yodanis</i>
<i>Susan Schechter</i>	<i>Chris Stark</i>	<i>Joyce Walstedt</i>	<i>Mary de Young</i>
<i>Diana Scully</i>	<i>Gloria Steinem</i>	<i>Elizabeth Ward</i>	<i>Joan Zorza</i>
<i>Charlene Senn</i>	<i>Wendy Stock</i>	<i>Sally Ward</i>	
<i>Ntozake Shange</i>	<i>Chyng Sun</i>	<i>Robin Warshaw</i>	
<i>Beverly Sheftall</i>	<i>Nadia Telsey</i>	<i>Charlotte Watson</i>	

The names above only scratch the surface of the legions of women who are working to confront the age-old injustice of men's violence and male supremacy. We as feminist men proudly join them in working for these goals.

We do not have emails or contact information for most of these women. If you perhaps do, kindly notify them that their contributions have been honored in *Dignity*, by NOMAS.

From among the inspiring women named above, we wish also to especially recognize, and to honor, the following women, as:

### **WOMEN OF LIFETIME DEDICATION AND OUTSTANDING ACHIEVEMENT IN CONFRONTING MEN'S VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN**

#### **Catharine A. MacKinnon**

Catharine A. MacKinnon has recorded a major, concrete achievement, which no one else living today can equal. She skillfully led the way to a huge and historic victory over male supremacy, that has made millions of women lives' safer and better, today and into the future. MacKinnon was the principal architect of our present laws against sexual harassment, both in employment and in education. Beginning while in law school, she advanced the theory that such behavior, in both its quid pro quo and hostile environment forms, is sex discrimination, a civil rights violation. She then successfully co-litigated it before the U.S. Supreme Court and has

worked to extend sexual harassment law around the world. Many women contributed to this huge success, but MacKinnon was truly its prime mover. Catharine MacKinnon is thus the most successful feminist reformer since Alice Paul herself. A case she litigated first recognized rape as an act of genocide, a legal concept now embraced in international law. Her concept of "gender crime" created a gender-based understanding of sex crimes and their prosecution in international criminal law. She participated formatively in the Violence Against Women civil remedy, the trafficking amendments to the Palermo Protocol, the Nordic model on prostitution, and establishing the harm approach to pornography in Canada. Professor MacKinnon has been recognized as "the law's most prominent feminist legal theorist," and among "the most influential American law professors of the century," "the most important legal thinkers in American law of the past century," and "the most highly cited legal scholars of all time."

### **Gloria Steinem**

Gloria Steinem is the single most visible, universally admired, beloved and respected feminist alive today. Co-founding and guiding *Ms.* magazine was but one of her innumerable creative achievements. As a writer, she championed countless feminist causes. As a young woman, she infiltrated the Playboy Club as a "bunny" to then write a feminist critique of Hugh Hefner's profit-making woman-abuse (e.g. saying that the required AIDS-tests clearly indicated that bunnies were expected to engage in prostitution). Her inspirational 1970 essay in *Time*, "What It Would Be Like If Women Win," made feminism understandable and appealing to many mainstream readers. She resurrected *Wonder Woman* on the cover of the first issue of *Ms.* in 1972 and explored the true roots of this iconic feminist figure in real human prehistory. Her 1978 *Ms.* cover story asserted that "Blatant or subtle, *pornography* involves no equal power or mutuality ... *Erotica* is as different from pornography as love is from rape, as dignity is from humiliation, as partnership is from slavery, as pleasure is from pain." Steinem wrote an article on female genital mutilation in 1979 that brought this atrocity - from which 75 million women are suffering - to attention of the American public. She observed that "*genital mutilation can only be understood in the context of the patriarchy.*" During the Clarence Thomas Supreme Court nomination hearings in 1991, she strongly supported Anita Hill, who accused the nominee of sexual harassment. Steinem proposed that Hill instead should be on the Supreme Court.

### **Diana Russell**

Very few social scientists have ever distinguished themselves as both empirical research-scientists, and also as prolific authors & theorists. Diana Russell, almost uniquely, has been an extraordinary achiever in both dimensions. Over a fifty-year career, Russell has authored 17 important feminist books and hundreds of articles, on many different forms of violence against women, especially sexual violence. These include her theory that rape, rather than a deviant act, is a compliance with conventional masculine norms, and her expert explanations of pornography's harms to women. Russell championed the term "femicide," which electrified the front-line feminists in many other countries, and led already to new legislation against the nightmare of woman-killing in eight countries to date. The United Nations has referred to femicide as the most important form of violence against women in the world today. As an empirical social scientist, Russell conducted the most accurate, methodologically-competent scientific research ever done on the prevalence of completed rape - 24 percent - in the female population of all adult ages. No other research on rape has ever equaled Russell's work, for scientific rigor.



This landmark scientific research is best described in *Sexual Exploitation* (1984). From this data, Russell also obtained the best-ever information on childhood sexual abuse. That report, *The Secret Trauma: Incest in the Lives of Girls and Women* (1986), was the first scientific study of incestuous abuse ever conducted, showing the shockingly high prevalence of this hidden form of sexual abuse; it won the C. Wright Mills Award, the most prestigious prize in social science. Catharine MacKinnon wrote: "Professor Russell is the recognized academic expert on the empirical study of sexual violence against women in the United States... None of the conceptual, factual, political, or legal advances in understanding, documenting, and opposing violence against women in this country, including my own work, would have been possible without her ground-breaking studies and scholarly publications." A native of South Africa, Russell was a courageous early opponent of racist apartheid. Desmond Tutu said: "I fairly burst with pride, that South African soil has produced such indomitable women."

### Ellen Pence

The most serious encounter which so many women experience with patriarchal male violence is abuse or violence from a *husband, boyfriend, or male partner*. Perhaps the most celebrated and respected leader in this central area of feminist anti-violence work was Ellen Pence. She not only confronted the questionable clinical take-over of help programs intended for such men, she developed a far superior alternative approach: The Coordinated Community Response. This is an inter-agency collaborative approach, involving police, probation, courts and human services, working together in response to domestic abuse. This model is now used in all 50 states and over 17 countries. It generated the well-known "*Power and Control Wheel*." Pence worked on legislative efforts, legal reform projects, shelter and advocacy program development, and training programs for judges, probation officers, law enforcement officers, and human service providers. She authored educational manuals and curricula for classes for battered women, men who batter, and law enforcement officers. Pence was the chief architect of the *Praxis Institutional Audit*, a method of identifying, analyzing, and correcting institutional failures to protect women drawn into legal and service systems because of violence and poverty. Ellen Pence was widely loved, for her sense of humor, her brilliance, and her lifelong dedication to this great cause.

### Dorchen Leidholdt

Attorney Dorchen Leidholdt is a feminist visionary, activist, and professional. She has represented hundreds of women victimized by domestic violence, sex trafficking, sexual assault, female genital mutilation, forced and child marriage, the threat of 'honor-killing,' and the internet bride trade. She has been a founder and leader opposing violence and sexual exploitation since the 1970's. She is currently Director of Battered Women's Legal Services for the agency *Sanctuary for Families*, with 45 full-time attorneys, the largest legal services program for victims of gender violence in the U.S. She was the lead organizer of the 1987 conference "The Sexual Liberals and the Attack on Feminism" at the New York University School of Law, and in 1988, of the first global conference on trafficking in women and girls. Leidholdt was a principal architect of the best-designed American law to date against sex-trafficking, prostitution, and pimping: the 2007 New York State Anti-Trafficking Law. She previously co-founded and co-chaired the Coalition Against Trafficking in Women (CATW), and New York's Women Against Pornography. Leidholdt legally defended a woman who had been pimped by Penthouse publisher Bob Guccione. She has spearheaded federal litigation preventing child protection

agencies from charging battered mothers with “engaging in domestic violence, and led campaigns to make stalking and strangulation crimes, and to require judges to consider evidence of domestic violence in custody cases. She has addressed the General Assembly of the U.N. with a survivor of sex trafficking, and has received numerous awards, including one from NYC for “outstanding leadership in breaking the cycle of domestic violence.”

### **Donna M. Hughes**

Professor Donna Hughes was a biologist and geneticist before evolving into a women’s studies scholar. She was one of the first academics to research the sex trafficking of women and girls, and has emerged as one of the world’s leading authorities on sex trafficking. She was the first researcher to write about how new communication technologies, such as the Internet, were being used in the trafficking of women and girls. She has written influential policy reports on “the demand”—men’s role in driving the criminal business of sex trafficking. She has advocated for sex buying to be treated as a form violence against women. She has written about women’s rights in the Islamic world and about women in science. Hughes has published research on sex trafficking and prostitution in Russia, Ukraine, Cambodia, and the U.S., and on the trafficking of North Korean refugees in China. In 2009, she was a major influence in confronting and defeating twenty-nine years of decriminalized prostitution in Rhode Island that had prevented law enforcement from investigating sex trafficking and pimping. In 2010, Hughes was awarded the Josephine Butler Award for “challenging the status quo and creating new abolitionist policy or approach to sex trafficking in the United States.” For almost 20 years, Hughes has run listservs to keep subscribers informed about news and events related to sex trafficking and sexual exploitation. Most recently, she founded the much-needed new open access, peer-reviewed scholarly journal, *Dignity: A Journal on Sexual Exploitation and Violence* ([www.digitalcommons.uri.edu/dignity](http://www.digitalcommons.uri.edu/dignity)). Combining scientific rigor and integrity with a feminist urgency and energy on behalf of vulnerable women, Donna Hughes is engaging students in original research on sex trafficking and prostitution.

### **Betty Friedan**

Betty Friedan will be remembered forever for two stupendous achievements in advancing women’s equality. Working entirely alone, she wrote the earth-changing book, in 1972, which sparked the emergence of second-wave feminism: *The Feminine Mystique*. She wrote tellingly of the emptiness in so many talented women’s lives that she called “*the problem that has no name*.” She later wrote: “...my whole life had prepared me to write that book. The book came from somewhere deep within me, and all my experience came together in it ... I and every other woman had been living a lie.” Her chapter on Freud was a clear and persuasive account of Freud’s unconscious bias, animosity, and lack of insight or concern with women. She described how even Margaret Mead had gradually slipped into Freudian psycho-babble and glorification of women’s traditional, biological roles. She wrote of an “*enduring patriarchal power structure*,” which systematically suppresses women. For decades afterward, women would approach Friedan with nearly identical words: “Thank you!... Your book changed my life...” Then, not content to be only a universally celebrated writer, Friedan joined with other women in 1966 to found the National Organization for Women (NOW), now the world’s largest feminist organization, and served as its first president. She also co-founded the National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL) in 1969 and then the National

Women's Political Caucus in 1971. Her influence can be seen in every dimension of second-wave feminism.

### **Melissa Farley**

Dr. Melissa Farley has practiced as a clinical psychologist, totally independent of academia, for over 45 years. Arrested numerous times in civilly disobedient protests of nuclear power and of sexually-violence pornography, she has made one huge feminist challenge - the use and abuse of women in prostitution - the central focus of her own life's work. As a social science researcher, she has interviewed women being used in prostitution, often at huge risk to herself, in nine countries across the globe. Her non-profit website ([www.prostitutionresearch.com](http://www.prostitutionresearch.com)) has information on (the few) services that exist for such oppressed women, the latest data and research information, and receives 60,000 views per month, from around the world. When a U.S. grant became available to study the sex-industry of Nevada, both "legal" and illegal, Ambassador John Miller knew that the best-qualified researcher in the world would be Dr. Melissa Farley. The book that resulted, *Prostitution and Trafficking in Nevada: Making the Connections* (2007) is, still today, the best scholarship in print on prostitution. One important chapter details the innumerable barriers to women who desperately wish to leave prostitution. Another chapter reports new empirical research on the negative attitudes and beliefs of college men in Northern Nevada exposed to nearby brothels and legal prostitution as compared with similar college men in other states. A deeply committed feminist, she writes with infectious, passionate conviction, like an Andrea Dworkin with a Ph.D.

### **Andrea Dworkin**

Andrea Dworkin was not adequately known or universally admired in her too-brief lifetime. To the many women and men inspired by her, however, she was the fiercest, most consistent, and most eloquent opponent of male supremacy we have ever heard or read. Her battle to enact the first-ever civil rights law addressing the harms to women caused by pornography, co-authored with Catharine MacKinnon, was legally unsuccessful in the U.S., but in Canada, the Supreme Court has adopted their approach to addressing pornography's harms to women (Butler, 1992). Dworkin's powerful voice was able to first raise an awareness of pornography's multiple harms-to-women, in countless other feminists. A survivor of men's violence herself, she wrote and spoke extensively about rape, battering, prostitution, and all other abuses of women and girls. Andrea Dworkin wrote over a dozen books, including fiction, testified before Congress, and spoke with electric effect across the U.S. and around the world. Few could ever move a room the way she could. All of her books are freely available at ([www.radfem.org/dworkin](http://www.radfem.org/dworkin)). *Letters from a War Zone*, 1989, perhaps her finest, most readable collection of essays and speeches, is as vibrant, impactful, and as on-target today as when it first appeared.

### **Phyllis Chesler**

Phyllis Chesler wrote the most widely-read feminist book of all time in 1972: *Women and Madness*. In that pioneering work, she exposed the patriarchal world of psychotherapy and the profound contempt for women which pervaded its clinical practice. From her own life-changing experience of being a captive bride in purdah (seclusion) in Afghanistan, she escaped, and soared within a few years to become the most visible radical feminist in academia. In 1970, she demanded from the American Psychological Association one million dollars in *reparations* for the

women abused by the mental health professions. The next year, she rocked psychology again with the evidence that numerous therapists were sexually exploiting female patients. Over the next 47 years Chesler authored a dazzling array of books and articles, becoming the most prolific, wide-ranging feminist thinker since Elizabeth Cady Stanton. *Mothers On Trial* first clearly revealed how often abusive ex-husbands seek and obtain child custody by exploiting patriarchal privilege. Her books *About Men*, *Sacred Bond*, *Letters to A Young Feminist*, *Women of the Wall*, and *An American Bride in Kabul* display the wide range of her scholarship. She lucidly examined racism and anti-Semitism in *The New Anti-Semitism*. She wrote *Patriarchy: Notes of an Expert Witness* of invisible women in hospital-prisons; of Mary Beth Whitehead; and Aileen Wuornos, on death row. Beyond many fine books, Chesler has worked with endangered civil rights workers in Mississippi, with women imprisoned in psychiatric hospitals, and today, with women fleeing gender apartheid. She has published four academic studies on femicides or "honor killings" of women in five continents, and is working on a fifth. She is an international resource for women who are death-threatened for refusing to veil, marry their first cousins, or who've renounced their religion. Her colleagues are Muslim, ex-Muslim, Sikh, Hindu, Jewish, and Christian feminists and dissidents. Her web site ([www.phyllis-chesler.com](http://www.phyllis-chesler.com)) is a leading source of information on severe woman-abuse in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Europe.

### **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

NOMAS is appreciative of the input from the following people in compiling our full list honorees: Jennifer Robinson, John Stoltenberg, Catharine MacKinnon, Wendy Stock, Diana Russell, Taina Bien-Aime, Phyllis Chesler, Jane Manning, Melissa Farley, Dorchen Leidholdt, Shirley Ranz, and Gloria Steinem.

### **RECOMMENDED CITATION**

Committee on Feminist Movement History, National Organization for Men Against Sexism (NOMAS). (2017). Alice Paul Awards for women who have worked to confront men's violence against women. *Dignity: A Journal of Sexual Exploitation and Violence*. Vol. 2, Issue 1, Article 9. doi:10.23860/dignity.2017.02.01.09. Available at <http://digitalcommons.uri.edu/dignity/vol2/iss1/9>.

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